

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY IN 1951

An Editorial Comment

Volume 25, which begins with this number, terminates a quarter century of service this magazine has rendered the profession. In this interim America has experienced a major depression and a war to overthrow three of the major totalitarian governments which came in the wake of World War I. Today she is locked in mortal combat with another of these dictatorships. There is as little indication of "peace in our times" as there was in the darkest days of "Pearl Harbor". In fact, a good argument could be made that we are rapidly entering an economy and a social era designed to wage permanent war. One of the major magazines of the country is pushing the concept "The permanent revolution".

What does this mean for education?

Among other things it means that; (1) There are few guides of the past to steer us in our new course. The "historical past" is constantly changing as new social vistas are gained from which to view historical data. (2) It means that the talk of Counts and others in the 1920's about "Dare the School Build A New Social Order?" was academic. Even Lester F. Ward's concept of "Social Telesis" is antedated—previsioning of a social order toward which education is to be directed is *passee*. The school, instead of a

vehicle through which society inculcates its dogmas, of either the *status quo* or the *Utopias*, has found itself an instrumentality of social control at the swirling vortex of social change with the responsibility, whether it likes it or not, of giving to direction to change.

The emphases have been changed from:

(1) *Content to process*. Skills and knowledges, while still basic, have become secondary to the processes of growth and development of capacities to meet and deal with problems of social change.

(2) *Dogmas to techniques*. Inculcation of dogmas is now something which social change has made hazardous, and is poor educational method as well. Indoctrination tends to close the mind to alternative ideas and a closed mind in today's world is a menace.

(3) *Static to dynamic patterns*. Even the old insights have to be rediscovered by each person for himself if they are to be meaningful.

The question then arises as to what is the focus of education in such an era?

It is hoped that the following are suggestive:

(1) Utilization of the soundest principles of child development we know. Whatever else is known, it is certain that intelligent direction of change is dependent upon maturity of personality (as distinguished from personality adjustment) with which to meet change.

(2) Fundamental insight into processes of group and institutional life. Only by such insights can persons keep from being "taken in" by the sacred shibboleths of the institutions of his time.

(3) Wide range of knowledge of other people and their ways. Every youth, today, is called upon to make decisions involving all peoples of the world. A part of the maturity of his judgment will be the extent to which he knows peoples of other ethnic origins to his own.

(4) Educators should work toward changing the understanding of the "historical past". There is a sense in which all the differences we possess as groups that are conflict producing, are the differences of our separate histories. Group chauvinism can never be overcome until the past is blended into a common history.

This does not mean that a study of the past is not important. Every individual today needs the best understanding of the past possible. Indeed, if there is any validity to the historical method of social research, there were and are causal factors involved in the recurrence of group phenomena which can and must be understood for such guidance as they may offer for the direction of social change. The point is, however, that the relevance of the past to modern issues is not that it provides a structured future toward which "positivistic effort" should be directed, but instead provides such insights as the past may offer as to what the outcome may be when alternative possibilities are presented for the direction of change.

This emphasis upon process changes the goal then from a body of content to the use of content as a means of intelligent participation. The measure of "intelligence" in participation tends to become the degree to which the judgments of the individual are based upon his understanding of his equity in all the relevant features which impinge upon that decision. Hence the educational responsibility in 1951 becomes a different thing to what it has ever been before.

Intelligent citizen participation of the future will not be by those who come with minds sealed off by the contemporary dogmas, for almost before they are learned those who possess them become "suckled in creeds outworn". The citizen who participates effectively in this new era will undoubtedly be one who knows what the creeds of his day are.

how they are created and maintained, and above all will possess the capacity to participate in group processes to direct social change to the betterment of himself and his contemporaries.

In this process, sociological insights adapted to educational method and philosophy will play a leading part.

Dan W. Dodson

THE NEIGHBORHOOD AS A FUNCTION OF SCHOOL AND CHILDHOOD

A CRITIQUE OF THE USE OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AS THE FOCAL POINT IN NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING

William K. Brussat and Svend Riemer

Educators and city planners both have dwelt at length in recent years on the problem of restoring order within the chaotic urban environment. Their thought has centered on the neighborhood as a focal point for rehabilitation. The neighborhood has been accepted as the basic unit for urban redevelopment and the revival of community spirit.

This tendency has found its classic expression in the "Neighborhood Unit Plan" of Clarence Perry, himself both educator and planner. Perry felt that well-defined and relatively self-sufficient residential areas would represent ideal service areas and that the use of facilities in common would promote a feeling of neighborliness and community spirit.

The classical neighborhood unit is built around the elementary school; its size determines the neighborhood size.¹ Other amenities, shopping centers and recreational facilities, etc., are added to the school. The concern with open spaces in the residential neighborhood is based on children's needs and the importance of the child for neighborhood relations. Children seem to be prime movers in the establishment of social relationships in the neighbor-

¹Clarence Perry, *Housing for the Machine Age* (New York, 1939), 51. The criterion for unit size is "...that population for which one elementary school is ordinarily required, actual area depending upon its population density".

hood. As one observer remarked," . . . the only real neighbors in the city are the small children and their mothers".²

Still, the relationship between child, school, and neighborhood is far from being a simple one. Moreover, it is not static but changes with underlying conditions. Therefore, this relationship must be carefully scrutinized. If cities are to be built and schools placed on the basis of this relationship, we must know more about it.

It is the purpose of this paper to raise a few points along these lines. They may lead, we believe, to a reconsideration of the assumptions on which neighborhood planning has been proceeding.

The neighborhood, the area about his home, is very much a reality to the pre-school child. The child's movements are restricted to that area in which it is possible for the parent to keep watch over him, to see that he does not get into any mischief to himself or others. He is not yet adequate to the complex world beyond the purview of the house.

The primary area of identification, then, will be the block on which the child lives. Here he will find his first playmates. An area of a few houses will be his "neighborhood" until such time as he goes off to school. Supposing that this is a planned neighborhood, and the child does not have to go more than three blocks to school; nevertheless, his "neighborhood" does not immediately become the area serviced by the elementary school. Chances are, rather, that during the early school years the child will have two "neighborhoods": the school and his home block, the two connected by the route he takes to school. Only gradually does the area of autonomy - and consequently his "neighborhood" - expand; and only so does the child come to identify with the larger residential area.

² Marion W. Roper, *The City and the Primary Group* (Chicago, 1935), 170.

Not too long after full identification with some contiguous residential area has been achieved, it becomes necessary to expand the area of geographic experience still further, for now it is time to move on to high school. Here again we may have two "neighborhoods", coinciding with activities during school and after school. The high school experience, depending upon whether it is favorable or unfavorable, may serve to weaken or enhance the child's identification with the grammar school area. The former phenomenon seems to be the most prevalent. Grammar school associations tend to deteriorate with the possibility of more diversified contacts within the larger area. For example:

The fact that we no longer went to one school and now had divided loyalties and new friends, and the fact that both these schools were over a mile and a half from our section tended to break down the feeling of identification and "oneness" we had previously felt.

There is one grade school in the neighborhood, but no high school. Therefore, instead of the local school acting as a unifying force, the lack of one caused dis-unification. Grade school friendships were broken and high school friends were from all sections of the city.³

These conditions mark the entrance of a phenomenon which, if operative, is not very noticeable in the area of more restricted association. This phenomenon we shall term the "interest neighborhood". At this age, a much wider choice of associations is offered to the individual; he tends to choose his friends from among those individuals who have the same interests as he.

³ These quotations and others following, unless otherwise designated, are taken from some 300 case histories gathered from University of Wisconsin students. While homogeneous in this one respect, the subjects represent a wide variety of backgrounds.

The interests involved may be of a very diversified nature. The selection of friends may be based on such widely differing factors as income, sports, academic standing, hobbies, or intellectual interests. Mere proximity now may lead to a spontaneous search for common interests among neighbors.

High school gangs . . . center around a common interest such as athletics, the newspaper crowd, the Hi-Y gang, etc.

. . . "clicks" (sic) were due to special interests such as athletics or special school activities such as student government, money raising campaigns, or dramatics.

Our gangs were of a different sort being the social gangs of junior and senior high school. These transcended neighborhood bounds. They were based more on the kind of clothes you wore, what you liked to do in your free time and how interested you were in the opposite sex. The social "gangs" were not rigid, set groups but easy to break into and easy to leave. I belonged to three different ones during my school days.

Thus, depending upon the diversity of the individual's interests, he may have various "neighborhoods" - that is, in this case, "interest neighborhood". Participation in such groups may vary in intensity to the extent that one is interested or insofar as other members are common to other groups to which he belongs.

As the element of choice, then, is presented to the individual in expanding degrees as his physical mobility increases, the geographic area of identification tends to lose significance and identification with specific groups - which may or may not be geographically identifiable—gains preeminence.

It may be inferred from all this that identification with a geographical neighborhood is realized only for a portion

of the resident population. Moreover, such identification may be both temporary and subject to shifts in the motivations that provide its foundation.

We may begin once more with the consideration of children as the greatest single factor in producing a sense of community among those sharing a common area. In cities where people are not as dependent upon their immediate neighbors as in the pre-urban environment, one might consider the neighborhood feeling a function of the children's play and school groups. Indeed, we might even think of these as the last strongholds of neighborliness *as a geographical phenomenon* in the metropolis. The residents of a metropolitan section or neighborhood are more likely to become acquainted through their children than through any other combination of factors.

The high valuation placed on children, particularly in the modern middle-class environment, creates a community among the parents in their concern for their children's education and the supervision of their recreation. The elementary school thereby finds itself in a strategic position to bring about neighborhood feeling as it brings the parents together through the Parent Teachers Associations and like parent organizations.

However, it should be remembered that such community remains a secondary group phenomenon for the adults involved. Association with other parents and neighbors is not intimate association based on all around acquaintance (primary group). Rather, it is segmental and based on special interests. No direct attachment to the neighborhood is evident. Whatever neighborhood consciousness there may be is a secondary, a derived phenomenon. Interest in the area is due to the desire to make it a better place for the children to live in. If there are no children, or the children are grown, this basis for neighborliness is lost.

... parents might mix while members of the Parent-

Teachers Association but very likely not in other social activities.

Several school and church activities brought my parents into contact with the parents of my friends, but these activities were for the most part temporary and spontaneous.

. . . school was only a unifying force when the parents have children at the school, at other times no one pays any attention to the school.

Now we come to several developments which may serve to remove this function even where children are present.

The first of these is the development of the nursery school. If the neighborhood can afford its own, then the nursery school may act as a further stimulus to neighborhood feelings. But at present, the nursery school may draw its clientele from all over the city. Then, insofar as the pre-school child passes the better part of the daytime in another area than his own, the latter loses his influence.

In a survey of the catchment of four nursery schools in a city of approximately 100,000 ⁴, the pattern in almost all cases showed a great scatter. Even the suburban nursery schools drew their clients from the city proper and even from cross-town suburbs. The school, with the least extensive catchment drew children from as far away as a mile and a half. One suburban school had children from areas over ten miles distant, and these not from outlying areas on its own side of town.

When it is considered that the children who attended these schools were absent from their geographic neighborhoods for eight hours of the daytime, the implications for neighborhood solidarity should be apparent. These are the playtime hours, the hours when these children ordinarily

⁴ Madison, Wisconsin. This city has seven nursery schools. Of the three not surveyed, only one has a predominantly local catchment. This is the nursery maintained by the inhabitants of the university student trailer camp. The other two have a typically scattered catchment.

would be associating with others on the block-and through such association bringing their mothers into contact with each other. In the anonymous urban environment, children are catalysts. The nursery school may serve to nullify this catalytic agency.

The second such negative influence is the diversity of type elementary schools: parochial schools, private schools, and in some cases, specialist schools. All of these may be detrimental, in one manner or another, to child-created neighborliness.

The parochial school may serve as a cohesive force among the families whose children attend it. However, it may be a disruptive or disunifying force as far as the neighborhood as a whole is concerned. Moreover, if the child leaves his neighborhood to attend a parochial school, the same decrement to his neighborhood may be offered is by the nursery school earlier.

There are two sections. Those who go to N—school and those who go to the Catholic schools. They stay pretty much in those groups and have very little to do with each other.

The school was not too great a unifying force in the section because the families were divided between a public school and a Catholic parochial school nearby. This seemed to have a tendency to divide rather than solidify the relationship of the community.

The school was not a unifying force for a large portion of the people are Catholics and their children go to a parochial school about a mile down the road. Other families send their children to private schools so the grade school doesn't help.

We can see, then, that there are certain type neighborhoods where the elementary school may be of secondary importance. In the case of small parishes which draw their congregations from a sharply limited area, the school

is replaced by the church as the focal point of neighborhood identification. But what of those residents who are not attached to that particular church? They may indeed focus attention on the public elementary school, but this hardly contributes to a full neighborhood solidarity.

In upper-middle and upper class neighborhoods, the prestige attached to child attendance at a private school will likewise tend to create two disparate groups. Whether the private school is located within or without the neighborhood, there is a resultant decrease of parent interest in *public* amenities for the children as compared to the concern of those residents whose children attend the public school.

While the elementary school might have been functional as the matrix of neighborhood consciousness and activity in the historic past, we must recognize the transitory nature of such foundations for neighborhood intra-action. Likewise, it is well to note that the composition of the resident population as to religion, occupational and economic standing, age, etc., might render ineffectual the public elementary school as a promoter of neighborhood unity.

The role of the high school in the drama of community life makes the temporary nature of identification with a geographic area even more conspicuous.

The breakdown of geographic identification barriers at high school age seems to be common to all sizes of communities. Between the small town and the metropolis there are some differences. A new area of identification, more or less clearly defined in space, takes the place of the childhood neighborhood of the small town dweller as high school age. The metropolitan child, on the other hand, sees the illimitable expense of the city before him when he leaves the elementary school in the neighborhood. But if the small town dweller sees limits, it is mainly because there is nothing — immediately, at least — beyond. It is pointless to go beyond

the confines of the community, because its limits represent the limits of possible choice.

The distinction can perhaps be made clearer by noting the possibilities of behavior with regards to clusters of small communities. Not infrequently, interest neighborhoods are established when mobility is possible between the members of the cluster. If the distance is not too great or the transportation facilities are good, the individual may seek to improve the range of his choice by drawing upon the facilities and personal contacts available to them in adjacent communities.

As far as my friends were concerned, actually most of them don't live in B---. I would say only about ten percent of them reside there . . . It makes little difference where we live because all my friends have cars.

At the beginning of seventh grade and Junior High School, my friends began to come from all sections of N---. In high school my circle of friends became enlarged to include some from A---. . . my main social activities centered around A--- Country Club. . . Therefore. . . began to identify myself with the village as a whole and even parts of A---.

Proponents of the neighborhood unit formula have been rather silent about the high school. Yet it should be clear to even the casual observer that high school days for the child or adolescent are the time of his fiercest loyalties; and the identifications engendered by such loyalties are of far greater intensity and permanence than those which presumably are fostered in elementary school.

Moreover, parental interest in the high school is of a rather different sort than that related to the elementary school. In the latter, the parent was concerned merely on behalf of his child; interest flagged after his child had left it. However, in the case of the high school there is an

interest which often lasts beyond his child's attendance. There is a tendency to identify vicariously through activities of other children resident in the community.

This is no doubt largely the result of competitive sports at the secondary school level. This is what captures the child's loyalty; his football, basketball, or baseball teams. And this enthusiasm is communicated to the parent. Elementary school is, after all, a place of mechanical processes: learning to read, write, and spell. Play is not of such a nature as to foster a sense of school loyalty or esprit de corps. But high school is the time of glories and triumphs, not only personal but of the school. When the high school team captures the local football championship, there is a sense of personal achievement, not only for the students, but frequently for the adults of the section as well. There is a very real identification of personal interests with those of the school, not only during but often after attendance there.

High school, sports attracted parents and younger children besides the teen-age crowd and gave them all a unified community spirit directed towards the opposing school team.

Most of these community activities revolve around the school and the Recreation Department, an extension of the school. High school sports are widely attended by all ages. When the basketball team played in the State High School tournament, recently, W --- was practically deserted while all its citizens commuted to M ---. The high school closed down, and teachers and parents flocked to see the game along with the children.

Who, after all, reminisces much about elementary school days? Quite a few people, perhaps, in rural communities or in days long past, when it was not uncommon for those to be the only school days, when one had to decide whether

or not to go on to high school. In these days of compulsory education, elementary school is just a way-station in one's education, a preparation for high school and college days to come. Indeed, for the individual who goes on to college, the high school in its turn loses importance as the focal point of loyalty and identification.

These are but a few points to be raised about the validity of the elementary school as a reference point for community and educational planning. This is not to say that the elementary school is not a vital part of any community. Nor is it to say that the elementary school cannot be made to serve the vital function assigned to it by planners and educators. Rather, we are interested in looking at the actual relationship existing today between the school, the child, and the neighborhood. Since this relationship is so important, it is equally important that we ascertain exactly what it is. We may come to the conclusion of a very exhaustive English survey on neighborhood relations:

In terms of this theory (i.e., Perry's Neighborhood Unit Formula), the primary school is the focus of the neighborhood unit. But the elementary school of today plays a far less important role in existing neighborhoods.

... There is little evidence to suggest that the school should, in fact, be regarded as the focal institution in each neighborhood. Such a conception bears no resemblance to its present role.⁵

If we proceed with school construction in relation to city planning without having investigated the planning bases, the structures we erect may prove to be houses built upon sand.

⁵Glass, Ruth (Ed.), *The Social Background of a Plan: A Study of Middlesbrough* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1948), 132-4.

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THE TEACHERS COLLEGES AND THE CRITICS

Philip M. Smith

Criticism of our public schools has been unusually bitter during the postwar period. Business concerns especially have repeatedly voiced the complaint that a substantial proportion of high school graduates lack proficiency in the 3 R's. In city after city, school administrators have been the object of derogatory remarks, allegedly for retaining expensive frills in the curriculum to the detriment of the common branches of knowledge. With a view to eliminating "non-essentials", and thus reduce taxes, citizens' committees were formed in many communities to keep a close check on school budgets.

Indicative of a possible trend, several articles highly critical of teacher-training institutions appeared in magazines with national circulations. If our schools were not being operated to the satisfaction of the traditionalists and influential tax-paying groups, what could be more natural than to look for the basic causes of this sorry state of affairs in the colleges of education? Was it not "common knowledge" that teachers colleges overemphasized instructional methods while discounting the importance of mastery of subject matter? As for the educational specialists, were they not notoriously weak in their advocacy of fundamentals by reason of exaggerated enthusiasm for experimentation with "half-baked" ideas? Then, too, did not graduates of the schools of education largely determine standards for certification of teachers, derived from their own pet theories, and thus help to perpetuate a vicious circle? What many critics evidently failed to realize is that the majority of teachers in service obtained their training in institutions of other types, and that sweeping generalizations are also meaningless in view of wide variations

in standards even among different departments on the same campus.

What actually lies at the basis of much of this sniping at the teachers colleges, including those affiliated with great universities where many faculty members of the former received graduate training? While a combination of factors is doubtless responsible, a great deal of criticism stems from these sources: the growing cost of education; inability of teachers as a group to protect their interests, owing to lack of unity, with the resultant inferior status in the professional hierarchy; social applications of the experimental method in education, with its challenge to put democratic philosophies into practice; and specific contributions of *educational sociology* in relation to the role of the school in a changing social order. Of the foregoing, perhaps the last-mentioned item represents the area of greatest contention, although it is inseparably linked with the others.¹

Educational sociology, by very nature, is largely concerned with controversial questions. As a matter of fact, all forces, agencies, and institutions having a bearing on the process of socialization of the child — whether related directly to formalized education or not — fall within its province. Moreover, in many courses labeled "education" considerable sociology is taught today; and this is true to a lesser extent of courses in psychology and history. Had educational researchers confined their efforts chiefly to studies of the dead past, instead of stressing present-day

¹For excellent definitions of *educational sociology*, see those of Professor E. George Payne in his *Readings in Educational Sociology* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939, p. 22) and Professor Dan W. Dodson in Francis J. Brown, *Educational Sociology* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947, p. 36). Although the boundaries of this field are not clear-cut, overlapping with other social sciences may be a distinct advantage in view of the manifold aspects of education. For a helpful discussion of one important phase of this work, see Dan W. Dodson, "Human Relations in Teacher Training," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 22, 106-115, (October 1948).

issues, doubtless criticism of their activities would not have been nearly so severe. Participation of educational sociologists in research which might help to render the position of uncompromising defenders of the status quo untenable is a cause of grave concern to the latter. Gross inequality of opportunity, racial and religious discrimination, substandard housing, inadequate provisions for child health and welfare, unsatisfactory relations between the school and community, and a prejudiced attitude toward organized labor are some of the problems engendering suspicion, misunderstanding, and outright animosity.

Ever mindful of the importance of citizenship training, sociologists quite generally agree that the educational process is an essential means of building the democratic way of life. They hold that the school is a logical place to teach good citizenship, and that it is far more important for a child to learn how to combat racial hatred in his own neighborhood than to memorize unrelated facts. Certainly educators worthy of the name are interested also in discovering why economic conditions striking at the very foundations of democracy are permitted to exist in the richest nation in the world. Believing that our system cannot well survive without diffusion of the blessings of education among all segments and strata of the population — irrespective of race, creed, or economic status — conscientious sociologists can hardly remain silent when the phenomena they study give the lie to our noble pronouncements about “equality of opportunity.”

Generally speaking, it is the major task of the colleges of education to turn out graduates who know *how* to teach. During the postwar period, however, because of overcrowding elsewhere, it likewise became necessary to do a big job of liberal arts and preprofessional education; and the evidence suggests that they have done it quite satisfactorily. But these institutions are well aware of the temptation to sacrifice such significant areas of study as

"philosophies" and "methods" of education in order to develop perfectionists in knowledge of subject matter. Although no teacher can possibly learn all there is to know about a given subject, he can still work out an integrated educational philosophy in keeping with the times, and also discover how to impart knowledge effectively while showing the student how to capitalize upon his own natural aptitudes and abilities.

So long as the sociologists "stick to the classroom," and do not meddle with community affairs, they are much less likely to be criticized by individuals outside the school. On the other hand, if they offer the services of their students to local organizations for the innocuous ringing of doorbells and endless counting of noses, in the guise of research, the chances of their efforts meriting general approval are highly favorable. What they are not supposed to do is to upset the apple-cart by advocating expensive preventive as well as remedial measures for such unwholesome social conditions as may be brought to light.

The startling multiplicity of organizations content to deal with secondary rather than primary causes of social deterioration in the average city should be a source of deep concern to socially-minded educators, if only for the reason that they may actually impede social progress as it relates to helping children who are the innocent victims of existing conditions. Should local groups ranking high on the prestige scale wish to use the school for publicizing and implementing their own programs, which are often poorly conceived, narrow in scope, and socially ineffectual, this is usually viewed as a legitimate educational function. In other words, entrenched interests seldom hesitate to impose their will upon the school. But it is ordinarily deemed unwise for teachers to raise embarrassing questions as to why less influential groups do not enjoy similar privileges.

To the credit of educational sociologists it must be said that they have made much progress in recent years with

community studies. Not only have they sought to interest students in the use of community resources but they have likewise enlisted their cooperation in community surveys and analyses whose findings may form a basis for subsequent improvements. So long as the opportunity to attend college depends more upon family income than upon scholastic aptitude and academic achievement, there is a strong conviction that democracy in higher education is a long way from actual realization. As for the public schools, the plight of countless children in the deep South, both white and Negro, who are denied decent educational opportunities is a sad commentary upon existing conditions. But the problem is not confined to the South. When it was reported in April, 1951, that poverty had been responsible for nearly twice as many school absences as sickness in Detroit, many persons obtained a graphic picture of the seriousness of the situation in the North. What seemed even more reprehensible was the fact that there was a 23 per cent increase in such absences, due mainly to lack of shoes and clothing, during the school year.

Faculty directors of area research projects are sometimes forced to yield to subtle adverse pressures from vested political and economic interests supposedly in favor of investigations designed to identify factors detrimental to community health and welfare. Especially is this true if preliminary findings reflect unfavorably upon persons of great influence in the community. Students often find their permissible range of research problems seriously curtailed, and the sociological value of their field studies correspondingly lessened, on that account. Much of the opposition to social reform stems, of course, from specially privileged groups unwilling to bear their fair share of the cost of expanded social services. If they can use the public schools to help maintain their position of advantage, and

to further the cause of political and economic reaction, this is a convenient means of blocking future reforms.

It is not unusual for school boards in some communities to "view with alarm" certain educational innovations introduced by teachers college graduates. So-called progressive education, which aims to prepare our youth to cope with the problems of everyday life, while stressing the value of experiential learning, has been regarded in some quarters with anything but complacency. Because it involved dynamic conceptions of the role of the child in relation to the curriculum, group, and community, it was often annoying to individuals holding the traditional type of school in veneration as the logical bulwark of the status quo. To discredit the underlying philosophy of progressive education there were numerous attacks upon the validity of instructional methods used in specific areas of study, most of which were probably unjustified by the facts when interpreted in their proper context.² But the hypocrisy of certain critics was perhaps best revealed by their hysterical fear that progressive schools would eventually succeed in turning out large numbers of graduates eager to so transform society as to insure every child a fair chance in life in the future.

A discouraging feature of this whole problem is that so many teachers who ought to know better have been cleverly victimized by organized pressure groups with selfish motives. While natural scientists are laboring devotedly for the advancement of "pure" science, they may fail to perceive how world conditions have long since exploded the fallacy that science can be free when its social applications are limited by undemocratic restrictions. Many persons feel that the time has arrived when basic scientists are morally obligated to concern themselves actively with the

²See C. D. Chamberlain, and others, *Did They Succeed in College?* (Harper and Bros., 1942). When judged by their performance in college, graduates of progressive schools referred to in this study made a very favorable showing, as compared with alumni of traditional high schools.

problem of achieving the kind of society in which all will be free to carry on research that can be of lasting benefit to mankind. As for the social scientists' alleged lack of objectivity on controversial issues, the evidence seems conclusive that natural scientists themselves can be among the most biased of persons when discussing such topics. Inasmuch as each of us has been "indoctrinated" regarding the value system of our culture, from early childhood on, it is likewise illogical for scientists to insist that indoctrination has no valid place in education. The truth is that we are all in the same boat; and as citizens in a democracy we must be determined to see to it that the fruits of science be reserved for the benefit of all people. Fortunately, there are teacher-scientists who are also men of great social vision. Professor Albert Einstein, of Princeton, and Professor Harlow Shapley, of Harvard, are excellent examples of those who are pointing the way. Keenly aware of the social implications of scientific progress, on many occasions they have urged their co-workers to take the initiative in building the good society, not merely as scholars but as citizens, humanitarians, and men of good will.

Surely our civilization could survive without further progress in the fields of science and invention, however much deprived of needed comforts and conveniences some people might be. But numerous educators, including faculty members in teachers colleges, schools of liberal arts, and the great universities, are convinced that peace and justice will be impossible of attainment if a science of human relations be not developed and applied for resolving intergroup, intercultural, and international tensions. To achieve this goal the natural scientists and social scientists, as good teachers and good citizens, must work together, side by side.

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WHAT DOCUMENTS HAVE EDUCATIONAL VALUE?

Maurice P. Moffatt and Stephen G. Rich

In instruction within the broad field of "Social Studies", and in particular at the secondary school and college levels, the use of documents as educational material can furnish both factual knowledges and understandings of situations and relationships, to an extent far beyond that now normally attained by their use. The purpose of this article is therefore to indicate:

- (1) The wide extent of material which this term "document" includes;
- (2) Unnoticed sources of documentary material;
- (3) Some practical procedures for the use of documents.

The term "document" cannot be limited when considering the use of such material for educational purposes. Anything that is an "original record" or a photograph thereof or even an accurate reprint thereof, must be classified as a *document* for the purpose of this study. The original records of events related to any particular place, in whatever form they may exist, are for these uses as much documents as the most carefully filed legal records. An international treaty and the newspaper report of its effect in some one locality may be of equal documentary value, and may well fit neatly together. Local history books, such as the well-known "Old Caldwell" published for a New Jersey township in the 1920's, and family histories like that of the Leonards of Rochester, Mass. published in the 1930's, are often the most satisfying repositories of reprinted documentary material.

But the rich reservoirs of content for social studies are far from thus limited.

Significant documents of many varieties provide pertinent knowledge for educational purposes. These valuable records of history are milestones in the heritage of this global world. Dynamic events and transactions of wide importance are transcribed as a matter of permanent record. The list is broad and widely varied and is drawn from many origins:—international, national, state, county, local sources and those with which personal literature is interwoven.

Each of these primary sources tells a unique story. Each records events related to a particular place and calls attention to an individual person or a group of people. In many cases they start streams of events that affect numerous aspects of society. All are rich reservoirs of content for learning. These historical prizes are cherished by those who possess them and by the individual who seeks the privilege of delving into their contents. The rewards in most cases are bountiful to the careful explorer who records his data accurately.

Many a family has old diaries, accumulations of carefully preserved letters, notations in the family Bible, old deeds, and even books which they own, which serve this purpose perfectly. Nearly every file of back numbers in local newspaper offices will furnish the most interesting documentary material. Many business and industrial firms have complete records of their humble origin and development. Sometimes these have been preserved through many corporate changes and consolidations: for example, the 1940 history, "General Electric" has drawn upon the corporate records of the short-lived "American Electric Co." in New Britain, Ct., those of the "Jenney" firm in Brooklyn, N. Y., and hosts of others which became G. E. components.

The term "document" cannot be restricted to paper with print or handwriting on it. A few fading gravestones in an unkept cemetery may be the last threads of the fading history of an abandoned farming community such as Albany, Maine, or an abandoned mining town such as Edison, N. J. Monuments and bronze plaques which commemorate a military encounter, the site of an early fort, the birthplace of a great leader, are all documents. Perhaps the most striking and easily accessible case of the sort is the small remnant of the Second Sephardic Cemetery in New York and the tablet on its wall, in West 11th St. just off Sixth Avenue.

Local libraries and local or county historical societies are the normal repositories of much of the paper documentary material. However, a surprising amount of such material can be found, though with difficulty usually, in the registries of deeds in court houses. Certain title deeds, showing the strips reserved for roads in Colonial days, can shed interesting light on pre-Revolutionary conditions and doings. This is conspicuously so for the material of Morris County, N. J. in the court house buildings at Morristown, so we are told by one of the highest-paid title-searchers who makes regular use of that material.

Each state has much to contribute to our United States history through its many documents and past records. The state constitution is a guide for its inhabitants. The early settlements, the first roads, shrines, pioneer industries and important leaders are all a pertinent part of recorded history. Social and economic changes have left their effects on a once agrarian society. State historical societies have valuable collections that include utensils, farm equipment, carriages, tools, harnesses, furniture and other articles that reveal life in past generations.

Our federal government from its genesis can boast of many valuable documents. These fundamental sources

would include the Colonial Charters, the Mayflower Compact, the Albany Plan of Union, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States. Many other manuscripts of knowledge are found from the early decades of our national growth. Each of these aids in revealing the work of our leaders, the problems facing the nation, and the signs of progress.

The values which may be obtained from documentary material are most when the wide range of material is brought together from most diverse sources. To take a fairly recent example, it is possible to understand how people felt in inland Maine when we were dragged into World War I by the Germans, and how the people there saw the real issues of that day, from the Draft Board records at let us say South Paris, the news items and editorials in the Norway Advertiser, and the reports of how the young men went into the army in the Oxford County Citizen. Letters from the young men in service appeared in this last paper, too. Indeed, the naïve reactions of one correspondent of that paper who went far abroad in the eastern hemisphere just before that war, might well give a clue to the mentality, the point of view, of a fairly well educated young American of those days, as the thirty or forty successive travelogues from "Anax Junius" are read.

The actual texts of enactments and presidential or other proclamations are very much in point. No matter how good the statement of the facts may be in a modern history text, there is bound to be some unintentional infiltration of "ex post facto" judgment. Coupled with the newspaper articles, the letters, of the day, the actual text of some such statement as that of Monroe when he enunciated his famous Doctrine, will give a far clearer understanding of it than the best-written modern version. The pessimism

that overtook our country during the depression years of 1893 to 1897 cannot be understood from books written now or recently. It takes the actual words of the time to give us the feeling of those days. Again, the New York Times, with its comments on the editorial page about the palls of smoke from the bituminous coal used on the steam engines of the Elevated Railroads, brings home to us the feeling of the days of the great anthracite coal strike as no rewrite can do.

Pictorial documents are often strikingly useful, as are maps. In fact, in many ways the various old guide-books such as the Appleton Guide to the United States of 1856, are most valuable in getting the real atmosphere of the period studied. In the 1850's and 1860's, two firms used to get out large-scale wall maps of the various counties of almost every state then existing. Insert maps of villages enlivened the presentation. The striking differences shown, for example in that of Essex County, N. J., in which the two present authors live, as contrasted with an 1889 map (which one of us owns) and a very recent map, can hardly be lost on anyone. A book like King's Handbook of the United States, published in the middle 1890's, is conspicuously useful as a source to understand what sort of a country it was then and how the people lived. This same Moses King firm also published bulky and lavishly illustrated handbooks of several large cities.

Fortunately, a great mass of documentary material in various fields has been assembled into convenient books, thus becoming readily accessible to anyone anywhere without the need to travel to any library or museum. Some of these books are well known, such as the excellent collection of "Documents of American History" published by Dr. Commager in the fourth and much improved edition in 1948. Twenty-five years ago many documents for world history reading were included in Cubberley's pioneer

"Readings in the History of Education." This particular book includes material which goes far beyond the narrow scope of technology of education for the various epochs, and indeed still remains a most convenient grouping of documents from world history. Even H. G. Wells, in his "Outline of History," has quoted so many documents and given us pictures of enough others, that this compendium is almost a necessary piece of equipment for documentary education on certain periods. We forbear to list any more of the hundred or so books which might also provide documentary materials for educational use.

The colonial period was productive with such contributions as James Otis' speech against the Writs of Assistance, the famous Stamp Act, the Townshend Revenue Act, and the Massachusetts Circular Letter. Each one of these expressed a feeling in a troubled period of our history. The air was somewhat cleared by George Washington's First Inaugural Address in 1789, when a new nation with its government began to function.

What the people of the 1830's who actually made the events of history really thought is both intriguing and significant. We shall, for example, think higher of Andrew Jackson, respect more his honesty and sincerity of purpose, when we read his actual words against the United States Bank, in his messages. We shall not mistake his motives, or read implications of twentieth century ideas into his decisions.

The mid-century mark and through to the closing decades of the nineteenth century are represented in many fruitful works. This epoch commences with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, followed by the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, the Homestead Act, the Gettysburg Address and the Reconstruction Acts. Moving forward to the Cleveland administration we find messages relating to many problems of the day.

Bryan's Cross of Gold Speech on July 8, 1896 was one of the high points of his political career. The War Message of William McKinley on April 11, 1898 marks another significant point in our heritage.

The twentieth century unveils many memorable events that have shaped our destiny. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty and the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, both charted our actions in the Western hemisphere. The speeches of Woodrow Wilson and the legislation of his administration have an important place in our national records.

What we are trying to emphasize is specially and most, that the actual "feel" and "flavor of living" of each period can hardly be brought to the understanding of the student without extensive use of document material of all sorts. The student takes the ways of the present for granted, and is only too apt to look on any former way as merely a curious vagary, or an inexplicable variation from common sense. The lush growth of the patent medicine trade in the period 1880 to 1910 is really a significant feature of American life in those days. Yet without seeing the blatant quack advertising of Peruna and Duffy's Malt Whisky that then filled the back pages of some of the most reputable magazines, how can younger persons, accustomed to school medical service, a Food and Drugs Act, etc. appreciate this outburst of competitive commercialism? Without seeing that advertising, and perhaps reading the philippics against it in the magazine *Physical Culture* in that day, how can the heroic work of Dr. Harvey Wiley be appreciated?

The international scene was illuminated by the outbreak of World War I. Furthermore, when President Wilson framed his Fourteen Points as the possible program for world peace, the emergence of the League of Nations had far reaching effects on the world of that period. The efforts to maintain peace were expressed by some of the fol-

lowing treaties: The Naval Limitation Treaty; The Four-Power Treaty and the Nine-Power Treaty. The United States and the World Court is another interesting phase of history. The Kellogg Peace Pact of August 27, 1928 was an effort to outlaw war through treaty agreements. Last, but not least, has been the establishment of the United Nations Organization as an attempt to perpetuate world understanding and peace.

Maps are valuable as documents, especially those that depict past conditions. For example: those which show old Indian trails, locations of early settlements, trading posts or forts; General Washington's marches during the Revolution; early canal and turnpike locations; the routes followed by the pioneers in their westward trek during the era of expansion; the travels of explorers in the search of gold and their exploits into unknown regions. Expeditions of many kinds and their findings are all a part of a romantic story that spells civilization. Materials found in the diaries, logs and descriptions of the courses taken by our modern pathfinders in the air age are exciting contributions to world knowledge.

Plaques when used as documents reveal the story of an important event, the birthplace of a leader, the location of an early landing or river crossing, or the last stand of a gallant people. Road markers preserve the sites of early trails in a young country. They indicate boundary and state lines.

One might also read the platforms of the major political parties especially those in important elections. They reveal the signs of the times, including remedies for problems and suggested changes that would aid society. Many of these planks or proposals eventually become permanent parts of our national governmental machinery.

Wherever there is a museum, local historical pictures are likely to be readily accessible. Many of these have been

reprinted in modern days in newspapers and in special books.

Without adequate use of documents, these young people coming up through school cannot realize that in every period, *life was "modern."* It is hard indeed to realize, without having contact with their words of pride, that Congress was immensely proud of the two wings of its uncompleted Capitol when moving to Washington in 1800—that they were occupying "the last word" in a government building just as were the United Nations when they moved into their East River skyscraper in 1950. Without the acrid comments of his enemies, how can we get to feel that George Washington was as up-to-date with his claret velvet coats in 1787 as any youngster sporting a delightfully striking hand-painted polychrome necktie and a fine new sports coat in 1951?

Nor let us confine ourselves to our own country. It takes reading of Juvenal and Martial (in translation, it is true) to realize how Rome in its great imperial years was not "old" but a roaring city of the most modern, sophisticated life... that the Colosseum then was what Soldiers' Field or the Yale Bowl or the Yankee Stadium is now. Indeed, a good translation of Caesar's "Gallic War" is a document to make us realize that General C. J. Caesar went out into the wild and woolly west and fought the savages (blond and fair, not redskins in this case) even as did our own Fremont, Kearney and others.

The administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt produced much legislation of significant importance. Among the enactments were the National Recovery Act of June 16, 1933, the National Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act, the Neutrality Act of 1939, and the Lend-Lease Act. The many messages and directives relating to the emergency and World War II had far reaching influence in the modern world. The current administration of President Harry S. Truman has furnished contributions of a

significant nature. Such literature as the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan are a part of materials that have a vast importance for civilization.

Materials relating to a state government may be obtained from the state libraries and museums. The records and history of any state government are preserved at the state capital. Those relating to the Federal government are found in the works of the Presidents, the Congressional Record, Committee reports, departmental bulletins, public laws, executive directives and legislative enactments. The Library of Congress is the depository for many valuable documents. The letters and memoirs of statesmen and those leaders such as Thomas Jefferson or Winston Churchill are rich and priceless for the research worker.

Science and education both have helped to shape the direction of our culture. This trek has brought new needs to be met along with regulations to be enforced. The recent decades have noted the enactment of social and economic legislation that has affected society in general. Labor, agriculture, finance, industry and even our territorial possessions have been influenced by legislative enactments. All are part of public action by the American people in a dynamic society subject to change.

The study and effective use of the fundamental documents that have molded our destiny has a definite place in our educational programs. Students on the secondary and college levels should be encouraged to probe into the real flavor of these records. Those who will take the time to be of an inquiring mind will more fully understand the real bearing on our history. Someone has rightly said "that the history of any nation or people is the story of its leaders". Those people who have made history are portrayed through their works and many contributions to mankind. However humble they may have been at the time of their life, it was at least an earnest effort on their part. All are a part of the rich heritage that has channeled our national growth.

In conclusion, current society has had the benefits of the efforts of organized groups, political parties, and government agencies that have worked in the past for the improvement of the general welfare. These milestones in our heritage should be appreciated and protected by the generations to follow. The leaders of today and tomorrow can gain much from understanding at first hand, from their own statements, the actions of those who built this great nation. The sociologist and educator who hopes to understand our American society and its development will be better informed for his task after reading some of the documents that made America great.

The coming generation, after first-hand contact with the documents of all sorts, pictorial, cartographic, and in words, which give the flavor and feel of each period, stands an excellent chance of becoming more understanding citizens than we of the generation now in command. If this alone were the sole outcome of such documentary education, the task would be well justified. But in addition to this social value of documentary education or the use of documents for their educational values, there is a further gain. This procedure provides a worthy and interesting contribution to the mental life of those who are actually in the process of using such material. In the philosophical sense, we might even speak of a "contribution to spiritual values", without necessarily implying any theological overtones which that term might unwittingly carry. In this sense, therefore, we consider that the educational value which attaches to certain documents, is almost an "absolute" value with no need to be justified by the social values which are concomitant. But for us as educators, these social values are, after all, the prime ones, because they are portions of the purposes for which education occurs.

Dr. Stephen G. Rich and Dr. Maurice P. Moffatt are trustees of the Payne Educational Sociology Foundation.

EDUCATION AND STRATIFICATION

Richard Stephenson

The nature of any institution is such that the functions for which it is created and maintained may not be realized because of the internal organization of the institution or because of the operation of other, contingent institutions. An institution may function in a manner "neither recognized nor intended" and may partially or completely prevent the operation of one or all of its avowed purposes.¹ The fact that institutionalized patterns of behavior may function latently has been recognized chiefly by anthropologists who have confined their research to primitive people. The possibility of the operation of such functions in modern society has not been extensively explored. However, an examination of the operation of institutions in mass society may reveal a web of contradictions and cross-purposes, "neither recognized nor intended", very similar to those found among primitive peoples. As an example, it is the purpose of this paper to examine, in summary fashion, certain characteristics of our educational, economic, and familial institutions as they function to inhibit or facilitate the creed of "equal opportunity" in democratic society.

One characteristic of our economic institution is the unequal distribution of its material products. Another characteristic is the division of labor which functions to differentiate individuals engaged in this institution on the basis of the type of work they perform in it. The differential effects of economic and occupational position result in the

¹Merton has conceptualized this phenomenon in terms of "manifest" and "latent" functions and points to the fact that they may be either "functional" or "dysfunctional". Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Science Structure*. Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press, 1949.

formation of a system of stratification. Each stratum tends to develop a sub-culture characterized by relatively similar sets of attitudes, values, and behavior patterns which may be distinguished from those of other strata. These groupings have been conceptualized as "socio-economic" statuses or strata.²

There are two characteristics of our familial institution which are pertinent to this analysis. First, the children are ascribed the status of their parents. Second, the family functions as a socializing agency in the development of the child. These two functions operate jointly to induct the child into the particular stratum of which he is a member by virtue of his parents' position in the stratification system.

Socialization and training for future roles are basic functions of our educational system. Socialization involves indoctrination in the dominant value system of our culture. Training is concerned primarily with preparation for recruitment into the occupational positions which compose the division of labor. A *manifest* function of our educational system is to facilitate the fulfillment of the conviction that all individuals in the society should have equal opportunity to develop and realize their abilities and capacities. This conviction is not merely subsidiary to the socializing and training functions, but is a basic creed in the philosophy of education and of democracy itself.

The question which arises at this point is whether or not this manifest function of the educational institution can be realized in view of the characteristics of both the familial and economic institutions. On the basis of considerable research in the field of stratification, the answer would seem to be that it can do so only imperfectly and in part. The effect of these three institutions, in combination,

²It is not the purpose of this analysis to discuss the prestige or class character of such strata, but rather to point out the basis for and differential attributes of the stratification system.

is to give to the formal educational system a selective nature which is contrary to concepts of "equal opportunity." Rather, this selective character, operating through the family and the school, functions latently to maintain the stratification system arising from the economic order.

The selective character of formal education operates through the family at the level of its economic and cultural resources. Since a family is confronted with the necessity of distributing scarce resources over a wide range of family wants, economic position is important in determining the amount and type of education the child is to receive. Despite the fact that a system of universal, free education has been established, there is a direct correlation between the economic placement of the family and the educational attainment of the child. This relationship increases as length of schooling increases, until a very marked difference is noted at the college level. That this relationship is not altogether a function of ability, is attested by the absence of any conclusive evidence of differences in innate abilities among the various socio-economic strata.

The cultural resources of the family affect the child in both his experience within the family and in group affiliations outside the family. The number and type of material possessions within the home vary significantly with socio-economic position.⁸ Both the number and type of such possessions affect the opportunity of the child to familiarize himself with his total culture and with the type of environment which characterizes the school experience. To this influence is added the range of differences in "non-material" culture of which these material possessions are an expression. Child rearing practices differ significantly with socio-economic position, as do the very concepts of parenthood and the duties and obligations incumbent upon it. The kind of training the child receives and the value

⁸This relationship is so evident that many stratification studies use material possessions and home type as indexes of stratification.

system he "internalizes" depends, to a large extent, upon his experience in the family. The significance of these differences for education lies in the fact that the kind of behavior which the school motivates, teaches, and rewards is not necessarily the same as that experienced in the home.

Leisure time activities and group participation outside the home tend to approximate the experience the child receives within the home. The child tends to associate informally with children in his own socio-economic level and to engage in activities characteristic of this level. Where he affiliates with formal groups, these relationships tend to follow stratum position. Membership in many formal groups depends upon economic resources which families in a low economic position do not have. Where such resources are available, the notion within the family of what constitutes "character" may prevent the child's joining formal organization based on contrary conceptions of "character." The net effect of these influences outside the home is to reinforce the influence and experience which the child receives within the home.

The selective nature of formal education operates through the schools by virtue of the kind of environment or culture which the school represents. The type of behavior which the school motivates and rewards, and the values, aspirations, and orientations it stresses obviously do not duplicate those of all home environments. The economic and occupational position which the teacher occupies tends to place him in a cultural context which may differ substantially from that occupied by the student. Furthermore, most teachers are recruited from the middle segments of our stratification system. Boards of Education, which are instrumental in determining school policies, are largely composed of members from this same stratum. The general school culture tends to be representative of middle and upper stratification positions rather than lower. The sort of behavior which is emphasized in the school

operates differentially so that children who bring with them to the class-room behavior patterns learned in a home emphasizing different modes of action, become the "problem children" of the school. The child who comes from a "good, middle class home" makes a more satisfactory adjustment to this school environment than the child from a poor socio-economic level. The teachers' interest in and aid to the student may be affected materially by this adjustment. On the other hand, the type of adjustment the student makes profoundly affects the work he will do, the grades he receives, and, in the long run, the length of time he will spend in school.

The selective nature of education also operates through the educational process itself. Much of the material presented for assimilation is of such a nature that it requires a student to bring with him "mental" equipment which he does not have because of his experience outside the school. Standard intelligence tests, which have played such a prominent role in our educational system, have failed to eliminate the effects of socio-economic background, so that most of these tests result in an inferior score for children of lower socio-economic status. The general cultural equipment necessary for a higher score (principally familiarity with the types of problems and the language presented by the tests and a desire to achieve a high score) apparently is more a function of socio-economic position than any "innate" capacity. In the secondary schools, the division of curricula into college preparatory and commercial or technical courses functions to divide students on a socio-economic rather than an ability basis. A choice during the early period of the secondary school experience is very likely to determine the future course of education. This choice may be based upon aptitude as measured by grades and intelligence tests, level of aspiration, motivations, and interests, as well as the economic resources available to the student. But in any case,

the socio-economic level of the home greatly conditions the choice. The choice, in turn, directly affects the future occupational position which the child will attain and the economic resources he will be able to command.

In view of the foregoing analysis, there is considerable ground for asserting that the manifest function of equalizing opportunity for self-development is not being realized in our society. Whether or not such a function is desirable is a question beyond the scope of analysis of this paper. However, solely from a rational point of view, it is clear that we are not utilizing the full potential of resources in terms of human abilities and capacities at our command. It should be understood further that a large percentage of our children are not receiving the education which their avowed right to full development entitles them.

Most studies which have examined the influence of the socio-economic variable on education, place the locus of corrective measures within the educational institution itself. However, since the dilemma of "equal opportunity" arises when the economic, educational, and familial institutions operate in combination, it might be resolved, at least partially, by altering any one of them. It then becomes a matter of choosing the course most likely to be realized. For example, the economic order and the educational system might be retained as they now exist; and the familial structure, changed. "Equal opportunity" might be realized in this fashion if the ascribed status of the child and the socializing function of the family were somehow eliminated; a prospect hardly feasible in view of the value attached to such family attributes. Another alternative would be to retain the familial and economic institutions intact and alter the educational. This would necessitate an orientation of our education policies away from the "middle class" values and behavior patterns to those of a lower socio-economic status. However, such a course of action would be contrary to the dominant, and quite possibly the

majority, value system of our culture. The remaining alternative, adjustment in the economic institution, seems most possible of attainment. This adjustment would involve the raising of the economic status of lower strata. Such an adjustment would not only add to the economic resources of these strata, but also may alter substantially their cultural resources. However, it must be realized that "adjustment" in the economic institution may do damage to the system of stratification and the economic order as it now exists. These relationships are sustained and supported by values and interests of many groups, and "adjustment" may be judged by them to be greater loss than gain in weighing its net effect. Yet, there is a traditional basis for such change. There has been a steady increase in the number of school children from the lower socio-economic levels. This has been made possible by an extension of public supported education and the raising of the economic position of those at the lowest stratum levels. If the manifest creed of equal opportunity is to be more nearly realized, alteration in the distributive mechanism of the economic institution would seem to be the most feasible and expeditious method for accomplishing it.

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SOCIOLOGY AS INDUSTRIAL CURE

Bhabes Chandra Chaudhuri

If it is admitted that Sociology is the science of the development of nature and laws of human society, it follows equally that its added importance as felt is to-day due to the fact that men are now living closer together and their activities more dependable, one upon the other, than ever before. Sociology, therefore, aims at studying the root causes and effect of social virtues and at drawing therefrom some positive results that may well be, when appropriately applied, found to act as useful therapeutics in industrial emergencies.

Compared physiologically, the relation of man to society is much the way as a cell to body and that, as in former, so in latter what counts ultimately is not the size of body-politic but quality of the minute organs massed together in groups, sub-groups, gangs, work-teams that constitute rather the complex cell of it. Thus, it is evident that given scope for use, sociological therapy can cure ills to which the society in its modern world-context, is bound to be an heir for multifarious problems attacking it off and on. Thus, under certain circumstances, it can well eradicate the root of and avert strikes and possibly bring about permanent increase in productivity per man hour in surprising way.

The crying slogans to-day, as we know, seem to be all alike - - - loud in voicing the imperative need to intensify production - - - "Go ahead in production" and, to bolster it up with press propangandas like "Produce more, eat more"; "use less, rejoice more"; in an economy where the wage-peak and commodity-price appear rather vying each

other in break-neck race - - may well provide a good statistics but the problem of stepping up production, in practice, apparently has been proving a real head-ache with master minds of the world. Some of them, however hold that the method of incentives employed heretofore to accelerate it is out of joint with the modern time. The old School of economists probably relied on analogy that the effect of incentives on human industry is similar to that of an ass which can be made to walk faster by luring it with a carrot or just a smart rap on its back with a stick! The fact is, in final thesis, a worker's output depends on his nascent mental equipment as well as emotional condition than were generally held to be the case previously.

An instance may be cited to show incidentally that incentives which were just offered in experimental motive to some group of workers by way of payment on group work basis - - in certain industrial establishment in 1923 - - did not bear out the popular truth of the notion: that faster workers stimulate better efficiency in laggards! The experiment again showed an amusing fact too that better workers were called "rate buster" unlike the sobriquet given, as "slackers" to these who produce less! The incentive of piece-rates thus failed to produce the desired result from the particular group because every worker appeared to be more mandate-conscious of the mate, rather than being mindful of his pay-envelope! The fact therefore is that the question of increasing output is much tangled up in aspects of its personal and human consideration and that, it further brings out an inescapable inference that, should we want to get the very best being exploited out of him, a worker must needs be regarded not as a mere robot but as a delicate piece of a human being. This means that mental equipment or psychological traits make as much an instrument of productive efficiency in industry, as physical fitness is to success in life.

Modern researches in sociology have confirmed beyond doubt that the rate of progress in work is impeded by personal worries, torpor, nervous fits, ill health, economic distress etc etc that verily shape and foment his proclivity towards those around him and this under certain temperamental stage constitutes his morale; and the more a worker becomes free of such night-marish complexes like sense of inferiority, feeling of utter frustration, defeatism or fear of domination etc the better is his capacity for unprejudiced facing of the hard realism that otherwise gags the very nerve-centre of his inspiration for productive out-put in industry. This is again supported by result of another experiment carried out in sociological research which proves that recreative measure such as introduction of restpauses tends to accelerate work out-put to large extent. This is obvious and quite in line with the sense of the saying "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy!" Indeed, sociological tests have confirmed too that industrial Jack, however slacker he might be otherwise, did real man-size job upto the mark, when offered to work through rest-pauses, because such course allowed him to pick up what otherwise lost in drudgery and tedium of factory work. The point to bear in mind here, however, that work followed by rest provides joy that improves his attitude to work as well as environment: he no longer regards his boss as a piece of ruthless efficiency devoid of all touches of human sentiments but rather now approaches him with intimacy of a handshake.

The above analogy, therefore, shows that the real key to the industrial problem of the day seems to lie in evolving out a means that seeks to restore feeling of understanding between workers and management. But, the means, however easy of enunciation on paper, seem all the harder in application and therefore, difficult for realization due to reasons obtained by Drucker in sociological experiments on allied subject. Two factories were engaged in production

in America; one having a high out-put and a low-labour turn-over; the other poor out-put and bad labour morale. One was a stream-lined factory, up-to-date in efficiency make-up; the other had been hastily adapted from another purpose. But, it was the latter one that was adjudged the better of the two in efficiency and playfulness. To inquire into the cause of this, experts were sent and it appears that as they were shown around, the management kept apologising for the untidiness of the factory however unintentional it might be. But, in each bay, the work-team had itself evolved its own method of subdividing work so that no two were the same and, that the men were working each in the way that best fitted one's natural aptitudes and came natural to each during the jobs! The moral comes, therefore, to this: that the progress in output is proportional to the extent a worker is allowed full play of his aptitude or liberty of choice in a particular work; and that as soon as he finds his individuality is being atuned to the tempo of work, the job feels no longer, like a dull task but a sort of pastime that when completed, yields not only increasing output but also abiding prosperity to the industry as also himself. This brings in evidence also a fact in sociology that also proves the adage, so well known: "Every thing for a place and every place for a thing"! It also proves, though rather indirectly, that forced leadership is repellent to the simple nature of worker. Nay, he takes it to be an outrage on his sense of justice and liberty - because such outside domination barring only exceptional circumstances, kills initiative usurps intuition for creative action and, by freezing his ardour tends to reduce him to the level of an automaton.

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as far as practicable under given circumstances and to chalk out any plan for social utility in details, the result was that output not only shot up, but it also exceeded the target much to the surprise of management.

Two lessons are therefore, deducible from the above observation, firstly: a worker should not be pushed too much to fit in with a job or else he is sure to be in the trim of a good coat in a bad fit; secondly: he must needs be considered a piece of humanity having like and dislike, ideas as well as idiosyncracies. This means, he desires under a given favourable condition little or no authoritarian interference with his work; on the other hand, if he is given to act as per his mettle, it saves much worry, loss of useful energy and feeling of frustration for working at top speed of efficiency.

The modern sociologists therefore, while commending to the general acceptance the ascertained results of their researches as stated above, warn the employers as also the employees to take note of the same for mutual interest as also for the common good of industry, society and state.

Verily, the consciousness that if a capitalist is to play the Piper, a worker should pick his tune is the real answer, though rather metaphorically—to the all-besetting labour problem: that it is a hard fact to realize in business practice—that external domination kills spontaneity in human genius otherwise seeking for expression in art, industry and culture! The fact comes to this, therefore: that the sooner a sound principle based on findings of applied sociology is intelligently put in effect in Industry, the quicker becomes the chance of this sickness being ended where it began.

It is remarkable how the relation between Labour and Capital is deteriorating per saltum since peace came to the earth on the V-J. DAY. To stop the rot, the industrial magnates now and then seek the expert attention of a

sociologist for ready remedy; but as his profession makes him consider factory not as such, but as an expression of social entity; the receipt of such a S. O. S. however dire, puts him in an unhappy plight as he feels that, it is not possible to do even justice, by merely attending to the complaint of a particular section without hearing the other part, as viewed in the entire ensemble of sociology!

Indeed, he frankly avers incidentally that, as it seldom is possible to doctor a disease localized in stomach without curtailing indulgence to food, similarly too you cannot stop a trouble in industry by mere twisting a bolt of it to the neglect of a compact nut! Surely, however closely may a worker approximate to an ass or pack-pony as measured by endurance test or physical traction, the fact is that a porter or coolie ever remains a superior human Master of the pack-pony or ass and, therefore the analogy of carrot as an incentive to production lamentably fails in his case. Indeed, casual tips or emoluments, offerings of high wages, temptations by rewards, longer holidays or permits to buy goods at concession cannot by themselves stimulate feelings of understanding between the Labour and Capital and ensure as we find, no permanent benefit on production en masse.

Admittedly though, it is by creating that sweet reasonableness between these two essential organs of the state, that the collective sense of security of Homo Sapiens is assured, nevertheless, facts remain that generally due to misuse of its power that Labour enjoys now, periodicity of strikes, riots, lockouts and sabotage etc etc appear to have been on the rise in recent years. Reminding the Labour about the Statutory limits upto which the social justice can draw upon its demands: Gandhiji wrote in the "Harijan" dtd. 3. 7. 37.

"The whole reason why labour so often fails is that instead of sterilizing capital as I have suggested, Labour

wants to seize that Capital and become capitalist itself in the worst sense of the form * * * * And, if both Labour and Capital have the gift of intelligence equally developed in them and have confidence in their capacity to secure a fair deal, each at the hands of the other they would get to respect and appreciate each of them as equal partners in common enterprise. They need not regard each of them as inherently irreconcilable antagonists". It is common knowledge how the aftermath of the World War II has brought a spate of industrial dispute and caught up the world rather napping, in a sort of cold war. For instance, in India while in 1945 the total number of working days lost on that count, was roughly 4.05 Million, in 1947 it rose to as much as 15 Million (upto November 1947).

Explaining the baneful effect of strikes on national economy, the Hon'ble Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Minister of Labour, Govt. of India, stated before a Press conference held in New-Delhi on March 18, 1948 as follows:" Even in normal times strikes and lock-out may not be regarded as the only legitimate means of resolving differences between employers and their work-people but the time are not normal now. We are faced with all-round shortages of essential commodities—food, clothing etc etc. These shortages have led to the widespread evils of black-marketing. Industrial disputes or any "Go Slow" policy will only accentuate the evil. What is now necessary is more and more production". This fact as revealed in above lines unmistakably proves that with seizing of power Labour-Unions are sometimes being exploited to subserve the purpose of designing political parties and not, unfortunately, the realization of end of social justice—which should be their motto.

A parallel reference appears to be found also on page 38, in MEIN KAMPF of Adolph Hitler: "The aim of all social activity must rather be a means to find a way of

eliminating the fundamental deficiency in our economic and cultural life—which necessarily brings about the degradation of the individual.

The difficulty * * * * to eradicate the hostility prevailing among the working classes towards the State, is largely due to an attitude of uncertainty in deciding upon the inner motives and causes of the contemporary Phenomenon * * * When the individual is no longer burdened with his own consciousness of blame in this regard, then and only then, will he have that tranquility to cut off all parasite growth and to root out the weeds”.

It is thus clear that when chances are such that Labour and Capital are likely to rush head-on like two carnivores in the same jungle and, the political hyenas mark time just to turn this opportunity for using the Trade-Unions as weapons of evil, it is then and then only comes into consideration the supreme efficacy of sociology as the balm of a cure that neither the ancient Magics nor Miracles could well have possibly brought into use!

Surely, in its approach to the world problem of Industrial peace there is hardly a modern science more equal to the task than what Sociology seeks to explore and realize through understanding and research into the complexity of the individual PSYCHE: a deity too finicky to be pleased except through offerings of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; that alone can purge all human differences in this triune and establish, as Dr. Einstein observes a “weltanschauung” “for better understanding among Nations by breaking the spell of narrow Nationalism”. (P. T. I-Reuter, dtd. Lake Success, Aug. 10, 1949).

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HUMAN RELATIONS AND MASS COMMUNICATIONS

A HUMAN RELATIONS MOTION PICTURE

TRAINING SERIES

Henry A. Singer

It was the purpose of this project to explore the film as a medium to dramatize some human problems of our culture. The cumulative impact of a film series may have the effect of setting up conditions favorable to emotional receptivity under which deeper understanding of human problems is possible, and suggest choices for intelligent resolution of human conflict situations.

This project grew out of explorations into human behavior discussed and investigated in the Center for Research and some of the concepts of group dynamics and human interrelationships investigated through the Center of Human Relations. There was a felt need to develop effective communicative materials illustrating some of the newer concepts in the areas of inter-personal and inter-group relations. The technique decided upon was the medium of the sound film. It has become increasingly apparent that as a tool in education, the sound motion picture is one of the most popular and effective aids. "It is especially effective as a technique for telling a story. It presents facts realistically. It dramatizes human relations and events. It arouses emotion . . . transacts attitudes and depicts the imaginative. By means of the sound motion picture, the whole gamut of human experience may be communicated from

teacher to learner, wherever a learning-teaching situation exists."¹

However, in the field of human relations there was little original film material. Most educational films in this area tend to be didactic and hollow. It was believed that a motion picture, to be most effective, should provoke discussion and inquiry rather than attempt to give generalized answers to complex human problem situations.

The excerpted feature film appeared to be an ideal medium. Precedent for this had been established by the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association in 1938. At that time a group headed by Professor Alice Keliher developed a series of 52 excerpts from full length motion pictures illustrating problems in human relationships. Many of these films are still used today although most are dated due to costuming, setting, styles, fashions, changing techniques of production, dialogue treatment, and the emergence of newer research in group dynamics.

Excerpted film material for group discussion and teacher training had also been used by Professor Louis Rath at Ohio State University and by two of his graduate students, Drs. Alberta Young and Henrietta Fleck.

Having decided to employ the technique of the excerpted motion picture, the problem of soliciting the cooperation of the motion picture companies as well as the general financing remained. The motion picture companies were cooperative, only a few were reluctant. Having obtained limited support from the major companies, financing was arranged through Professor Rath from the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation.

The study was limited to four major areas of investiga-

¹F. D. McCluskey, "Nature of the Educational Film", *Film and Education*, New York Philosophical Library, 1948, p. 21.

tion. Namely: emotional security, economic security, the effect of power and interpersonal relations.

Films to illustrate these areas were sought among Old film reviews of Harrison Reports and the National Board of Review. The most likely films were selected for screenings.

The selection of the final excerpts was a slow and involved process. In addition to negotiating with the film companies for permission to screen and use material from their films, it was necessary to arrange for many panels to help review the motion pictures. The original selection of films and the subsequent selection of excerpts was based upon specific criteria. These are as follows:

1. The material will be illustrative of one or more of the four areas of concentration.
2. The material will include a variety of settings and locales.
3. The material will contain some scenes with educational settings.
4. The material will contain scenes of deep emotional impact.
5. The material will contain some scenes showing possible techniques in resolving human conflicts.
6. The material will contain scenes showing the strengthening of social values.

The films were selected from over seventy-five hundred reviews. The main film review sources were, *Harrison's Reports* and the *Educational Film Guide*. Some fifty persons served on panels for original film screenings. Over five hundred people responded to questionnaires supporting the purposes of three of the excerpts. *The Southerner*, *City Across the River* and *Home of the Brave*.

The project was expended to include additional excerpts by resourceful handling of funds and the cooperation of

the motion picture companies, various film laboratories, and the technical associate on the project, Mr. Ralph Rosenblum.

Those companies cooperating in the project and the respective motion pictures from which excerpts were made, were as follows:

UNITED ARTISTS	— <i>The Southerner</i> <i>Home of the Brave</i> <i>Body and Soul</i>
UNIVERSAL	— <i>City Across the River</i>
WARNER BROTHERS	— <i>That Hagen Girl</i>
COLUMBIA	— <i>All the King's Men</i>
20th CENTURY	— <i>Grapes of Wrath</i> <i>Remember the Day</i> <i>Letter to Three Wives</i> <i>Apartment for Peggy</i>

None of the excerpts offer solutions to problems in human relations. It is expected that the series will be used to provoke discussion and challenge traditional concepts of human behavior, rather than attempt to offer simple solutions to complex human relationships. It is anticipated that through the group process, under the guidance of a skilled leader, insights into human problems and awareness of alternative solutions to conflict situations, will emerge.

The films were edited and often completely reconstructed in order to point up specific issues and problems. The major emphasis of each excerpt is listed below:

The Southerner (18 minutes)	***Economic and ***Emotional security. In rural setting
Body and Soul (18 minutes)	***Economic and ***Emotional Security. **Power In urban setting

Home of the Brave (5 minutes)	***Inter-personal Relations (Race relations) Small town—High School
City Across the River (19 minutes)	***Emotional Security—*Economic Security **Inter-personal Relations—High School
That Hagen Girl (18 minutes)	**Emotional Security ***Inter-personal Relations—***Power (Social Class) (Small town—high school)
All the King's Men (28 minutes)	**Power **Emotional Security (Rural and Urban)
Grapes of Wrath (7 minutes)	***Inter-personal Relations Rural
Letter to Three Wives (22 minutes)	***Power (Social Class) **Inter-personal Relations (Small town)
Remember the Day (28 minutes)	***Inter-personal Relations **Power *Emotional Security (Small town—public school—school teachers)
Apartment for Peggy (Part I - 7 minutes) (Part II - 17 minutes)	***Emotional Security (Geriatrics) (Small town—college)

NOTE: ***Strong Emphasis
 **General Emphasis
 *Some Emphasis

A manual has been prepared as a study guide for the series. It contains background material relating to concepts of human relations together with synopses, analyses and questions around each of the films. Some suggestions for

introducing the films and techniques for discussion leadership are also included in the manual.

The manual contains data regarding current ideas in the field of human relations and group dynamics. Some of the most frequent references are to Lawrence K. Frank's, *Psychocultural Approach to Human Behavior*, H. H. Giles', *Growth Thesis*, Louis Rath's', *Needy Theory*, James L. Halliday's, *Psychosocial Medicine*, Harold D. Lasswell's, *Power and Personality*, and Alice V. Keliher's *Techniques for Discussion Leadership*.

Suggestive of the manual and as a guide for the creative use of the films, an excerpt from the manual concludes this report. With the manual, it is believed that the series will be useful on the college level for methods courses, teacher-training programs, human relations programs, in-service programs, labor-management and workers education programs, adult education courses and in community education programs. The author has attempted to embody the challenge of Albert Einstein into this project. The task for education must be to utilize maximum emotional methodology for reaching the most people quickly and influencing them in ways to live together more constructively. It is hoped that the series will serve some small function in this emotional process of reconstructing human relationships.

CITY ACROSS THE RIVER

UNIVERSAL — INTERNATIONAL

An Excerpt of the New York University Center for Research

16mm — Sound — Two Reels — 18 Minutes

Produced and Excerpted by Henry A. Singer

Edited by Ralph Rosenblum

This excerpt deals with the behavior of teen-age boys in a slum district of a large city. It illustrates the emotional

needs of young boys and the effect of inadequate housing, of the daily absence of working parents, of unwholesome environment and of economic insecurity upon their behavior.

The excerpt also illustrates pupil-teacher relations in a slum neighborhood. It provides a basis for analyzing the attitudes and values of teachers in such a setting.

1. Emotional Insecurity
 - Need for belonging
 - Need for variety and relief from boredom
 - Need for love and affection
 - Need for understanding
 - Need for recognition and achievement
 - Need for wholesome family living
2. Economic Insecurity
 - Need for decent housing
 - Need for wholesome recreation
 - Need for adequate income
3. Interpersonal Relations
 - Need for constructive pupil-teacher relations
 - Need for friendliness and warmth

SYNOPSIS

This is the story of Frank. He lives in the slum section of a large city. Both his parents work and he and his young sister must try and shift for themselves. When Frank takes his sister downtown for an outing she is overjoyed, but they return to the squalor of their noisy, smelly tenement home.

Frank belongs to a neighborhood gang which is given the job of beating up a restaurant owner who has not paid off a local racketeer. Frank and his buddies go to a vocational high school. In the shop many of the boys make

"zip guns", which are homemade 22 caliber pistols. When the shop teacher catches one in process, he is threatened by a hostile class. The school bell saves the situation for him.

Frank becomes more involved with the gang. His father, returning from work one day, catches him being chased by a policeman for robbing telephone boxes. The father, realizing what the environment is doing to Frank, tells the mother that evening that they must move away immediately. The mother reminds the father of his dream to save enough money so one day they'll be able to move away and open a country store. The father tells her that dreams can be buried: . . . the living child must be saved.

Frank becomes more aggressive and when the gang goes to its pool parlor and discovers some Puerto Rican boys of a rival gang, he sails in to help beat them up.

Returning to school after an unauthorized absence, Frank and a buddy cause a riot in the classroom by heckling the teacher. The teacher, unable to handle the class, runs to fetch the principal. The principal suspends the class. He consoles the teacher who feels only an atomic bomb on the slums will save the boys.

ANALYSIS

1. Emotional Insecurity

As young children grow up, they have an increasing need for a feeling of belonging. They need the emotional security of feeling that they have a stake in this world and belong to a group that has concern for their welfare. In most cases this group is the family. But when the family, as is often necessary among the economically insecure, has its members all engaged in separate activities which are necessary for them to survive, young people are not always able to fulfill this need for belonging. They must find a substitute. As we see in this excerpt, that substitute is

often the gang. The gang belongingness may often be channeled into a constructive outlet. However, in the case of young people growing up in the slum districts of our cities it seems as if the environment often channels them into delinquent directions. Why this is and what can be done about it is the basis for discussion and the application of this excerpt.

As children grow up, they have a tremendous need and capacity for love and affection. When both parents are actively engaged in full time employment, it is not always possible for this need to be satisfied. In this excerpt we see a brother and sister supplying each other's need for love and affection, and belonging. For the short hours that Frank takes his sister to see the sights in the big town you see the tremendous thrill that they share in the experience. Unfortunately, they are robbed of much of this when they return to the squalor of the tenement.

While children are growing up, they do things and behave in ways which call for tremendous amounts of understanding. They themselves are curious to understand the world in which they live and as they acquire information or as they are frustrated in the pursuit of this understanding, it is reflected in their behavior.

As young people mature, they want to have the feelings of accomplishment and they are constantly seeking opportunity to demonstrate achievement and to be recognized. The showing off behavior that is often observed in the young boys is an overt appeal to be recognized. When Frank tries to be more aggressive than the others in the fight with the Puerto Ricans, he is seeking the recognition of his friends.

2. Economic Insecurity

Children growing up in underprivileged areas soon become aware that much of life is conducted on material

levels. They see parents working too hard and their own sense of values is sorely tested in the process.

We all need decent housing which is free from squalor, dirt and unpleasant associations. Slum housing leaves disturbing impressions on children.

Healthy, curious youngsters need outlets for their energies during the surging period of growth in adolescence. There is need for adequate recreation facilities and understanding supervision if they are to be given opportunities for healthy constructive growth.

3. Interpersonal Relations

The problems of teachers in the slums or undesirable districts of the cities are tremendous. Many of the teachers come from backgrounds much different than the ones in which they have to teach. Or often, when they come from the same backgrounds, they no longer care to identify themselves with these problems. How is a teacher in an underprivileged area to handle many of the pre-delinquents or delinquents that are in his class?

We see in this excerpt a teacher who seems to be completely impervious to the needs and problems of the boys in his class. We see him very meticulously drawing a mechanical diagram while the people in the shop class are busily making "zip guns". The teacher shows his inability to cope with the situation when they threaten him menacingly as he discovers the "zip gun" activities. Again, in handling the situation, when Frank and his friend return after playing hookey, he continues to meet aggression with aggression which results in the class becoming completely out of hand. He must resort to the authority of the principal to restore order. We see this order resulting in further disciplinary action.

As we see a teacher in his relations with the pupils, how he speaks, how he behaves, how he acts, how he accepts or

rejects them, we begin to see the character, personality and values of this individual. We begin to get an index into the kind of person an individual is by the way he treats others, the way he behaves toward them. In this excerpt we see the very critical and delicate inter-personal relations between a teacher and boys who are very troubled.

Some other problems in human relations raised by the film:

1. "The question of controlling the economic insecurities that contribute so heavily to the disorganization of many homes is a question not only of techniques, some of which have not yet been invented, but of fundamental conflicts in life philosophies themselves... The problem confronting every community is how to mitigate the pressures of economic inequality upon the children¹." What are some of the ways we can improve conditions under which children in underprivileged areas grow?

2. Halliday² speaks of delinquency as a defense against the environment and that defiance and rebellion are symptomatic of this defensive behavior. What are some of the reasons for young people developing this rebellion which so often takes the form of delinquency? What are some of the ways in which they manifest this defiance in their behavior?

3. Young boys identify with heroes. In this excerpt, all the boys would like to be like Gaggysy, the local racketeer. He has a flashy convertible, a flashy girl friend, is a polished and smooth dresser but more than these, he wields power. How can we show children different value when the blatant successes seem so much more real? When local governments condone and even encourage local racketeers, how will the teacher show the practicality of intrinsic values?

4. The teacher in the first classroom sequence seemed deeply engrossed in a mechanical drawing while the class

¹L. J. Carr, *Delinquency Control*, New York Harpers, 1939, p. 217.

²J. Halliday, *Psycho-social Medicine*, New York, Norton, 1949, p. 104.

was making individual items including "zip guns". What are some other ways a teacher might relate himself to the youngsters?

5. Frank seemed like a youth with many promising qualities. He took his sister on an outing with his five dollar birthday present. He put his arm around her while they were walking. When the gang when to beat up a man he held back as if not wanting to participate in violence. Later he became more and more aggressive, hostile and eventually delinquent. What can we do to save the youths like Frank who might well contribute to society if given the chance?

6. "It may seem a striking statement, but it is nevertheless perfectly true that no case ever appeared... in a juvenile court in which the act committed was not prompted wholly or in part by some impulse which under other relations and other associations could not but be both right and desirable."³ In light of this statement and having viewed the excerpt, what are some of the ways young people in our underprivileged areas, may be channelled into constructive outlets?

7. We saw glimpses in the excerpt of problems of family living in this slum area. What are some of the factors in family relationships under these circumstances which contribute to the personalities of young people?

8. The gang of which Frank was a member saw some Puerto Rican boys in a pool room. They went in to beat up the "spicks", as they called them. How do we account for the special hostility against minority groups in these areas?

9. The principal told the teacher that he had to be firm with the boys. The teacher said he could only reason with them. In education what are some of the ways we reason with youngsters and what are some of the ways we are firm?

³G. D. Butler, *Community Recreation*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1940, p. 81.

10. The teacher feels only an atomic bomb can solve the problem of the gang and the environment. What are some other ways?

SUMMARY

We see young people growing up under tremendous handicaps. Under poor and inadequate housing, under unwholesome influences, under great financial limitations, it is a miracle if one can escape untouched. Worse than these, perhaps, is the tragic impact upon young personalities. As adolescents, their need for belonging, love and affection, good family life, variety, understanding and recognition are sorely neglected. Although we have made great strides in trying to improve living conditions, we have not done much about the emotional well-being of our children. In the schools, teachers and administrators sometimes have an unsympathetic attitude toward young people. In the face of many pressures they project their own inadequacies by blaming the environment and doing little else to help the victims of it.

In adolescence . . . although the role of the family is of great importance, a need for wider group participation emerges and provides a basis for the growth of social attitudes. "If the community makes due provision for this phase of development, and offers a constructive outlet for the group spirit, a great many minor distortions of personality in the young can cure themselves. If the community neglects these possibilities or is unsympathetic towards pre-adolescent experiments in social organization, hostility resulting from the frustration of these developmental needs may issue in unconstructive activities on the part of the younger groups."¹

¹Report of Commission of Congress on Mental Health, London, England: 1948, p. 17.

Perhaps we need to view delinquency and crime as the result of what we ourselves teach and do to our children, and of the way we treat and mistreat them. "The development of the concept of individual responsibility was a great achievement in its time, but today we can and must go on to a newer concept of cultural responsibility. We are offered a new ethical, moral, legal concept, to the effect that a society may be judged by what it does to and for its individuals and, moreover, that we cannot expect individual moral responsibility unless we foster personalities capable of being responsible and of using their freedom wisely."²

²L. K. Frank, *Personality and Culture*, New York, Pamphlet, Hinds, Hayden, and Eldredge, Inc., 1948, p. 15.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Johnson, William E., *Russia's Educational Heritage*, Pittsburgh, Carnegie Press, Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1950, Pp. 351. Price \$5.00.

This study is an analysis of the major policies and programs of the last three centuries of the Tsarist regime of Russia. It is concerned more with the training of teachers than with describing the schools of the era. Many aspects of the program are related to the present political structure of the nation. It is a scholarly, well documented piece of work which should find wide acceptance.

To this writer the study raised more questions for modern education than it settled. Some of them are as follows:

1. The long struggle for public education is a cultural heritage which Americans do not fully appreciate. The struggle from serfdom and peasantry (including present day political serfdom) to modern democracy is integral with the struggle for free public education.

2. The UNESCO programs designed today to lift the literacy and increase the participation of the peoples of the world in the determination of their destiny are finding themselves stymied by the problem of how you import and impose something upon an indigenous culture and get the people to accept it. How can we circumvent what happened in Russia, namely that through revolution they repudiated the foreign importations and returned to their indigenous ways so far as education is concerned, at the time of the revolution.

3. How can we keep liberal arts "cultural" education from becoming a handmaiden to status quo and social prestige, in order that it may be used to assist in raising the cultural level of people.

This seems to be a problem as old as the early educational programs of Russia and as modern as "Democracy in Jonesville" or UNESCO's problem in Haiti.

These are some of the problems one will need to keep in mind as he examines this study. It is hoped that the book will stimulate the search for these and related answers.

Dan W. Dodson